Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 ACDA-07 IO-13 TRSE-00 EB-07 SIL-01 LAB-04
COME-00 DHA-02 ORM-02 EURE-00 /094 W
----------121849Z 067962 /40
P R 121420Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY BERLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4797
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PAIRS
USMISSION USBERLIN
USMISSION NATO
AMCONSUL BREMEN
AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMCONSUL HAMBURG
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMCONSUL STUTTGART

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OR 2 BERLIN 6030

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, GE, GW
SUBJECT: GDR MFA OFFICIAL ON UPCOMING FRG-GDR NEGOTIATIONS

REF: (A) BONN 07935, (B) BERLIN A-29

SUMMARY: IN A MAY 11 DISCUSSION OF FRG-GDR RELATIONS WITH CHARGE AND EMBOFF, AMBASSADOR KARL SEIDEL, HEAD OF THE FRG SECTION IN THE GDR MFA, DESCRIBED THE GDR APPROACH TO UPCOMING "SOUNDINGS"/NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE FRG AND GDR EXPECTATIONS OF HOW THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE HANDLED. HE ALSO TOUCHED UPON BELGRADE, GDR-FRG CULTURAL RELATIONS, FAMILY REUNIFICATION, THE ELBE RIVER PROBLEM, AND FRG
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

WORKERS IN THE GDR. SEIDEL WAS LESS FORTHCOMING THAN IN OUR FIRST MEETING, OBVIOUSLY NOT WISHING TO BE DRAWN INTO TOO MUCH DETAIL ON GDR POSITIONS OR INTERESTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE MFA HAD NO HESITATION IN AGREEING TO OUR REQUEST FOR THE MEETING. END SUMMARY.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

1. GDR APPROACH TO NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE FRG.
SEIDEL CHARACTERIZED CURRENT FRG-GDR RELATIONS AS "QUIET ON ALL FRONTS". THE WORK OF BOTH PERMANENT REPRESENTATIONS IN BONN AND EAST BERLIN WAS PROCEEDING IN A "NORMAL, CORRECT" FASHION, AND IN THIS ATMOSPHERE THE GDR WAS AWAITING NEGOTIATING PROPOSALS FROM THE FRG. SEIDEL EMPHASIZED THE "CONSTRUCTIVE" NATURE OF HONECKERS'S RECENT REMARKS ON RELATIONS WITH THE FRG. THE GDR WAS PREPARED TO MOVE AHEAD, SEIDEL SAID, AND REJECTED THE PESSIMISTIC APPROACH TOWARD THE FUTURE COURSE OF FRG-GDR RELATIONS AS FOUND IN THE OPPOSITION PRESS IN THE FRG. HE DREW NO REAL DISTINCTION BETWEEN "SOUNDINGS" AND NEGOTATIONS, AND TENDED TO AGREE THAT THE SUBSTANCE OF WHAT WAS TO BE DISCUSSED WAS THE ESSENTIAL THING.

2. ACCORDING TO SEIDEL, FUTURE PROGRESS WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE ON THE BASIS OF REALISM. SEIDEL SAID THE GDR INTENDED TO RAISE THE "BASIC QUESTIONS" OF GDR BORDERS, FRG RECOGNITION OF A SEPARATE GDR CITIZENSHIP, AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN GDR INTERNAL AFFAIRS IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE FRG. THESE WERE QUESTIONS THAT COULD NOT SIMPLY BE SET ASIDE. SEIDEL DENIED, HOWEVER, THAT THE GDR INTENDED TO ESTABLISH A LINKAGE (JUNKTIM) BETWEEN THESE BASIC QUESTIONS AND PROGRESS IN SECONDARY AREAS.

3. THE GDR WOULD INSTEAD SEEK A "BALANCE OF INTERESTS" WITH THE FRG. SEIDEL CITED THE FRG PROPOSAL OF EXPANDING 1000 METERS OF AUTOBAHN NEAR MARIENBORN TO SIX LANES
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

AS ONE EXAMPLE OF AN ISSUE THAT HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH MORE BASIC QUESTIONS SUCH AS CITIZENSHIP. AT THE SAME TIME, IT WAS OBVIOUS HE WAS NOT RPEPARED TO INDICATE WHAT OTHER "SECONDARY" ITEMS MIGHT BE ON THE GDR'S LIST. HE DID, HOWEVER, ACKNOWLEDGE THEY WOULD BE PREPARED, AS AGREED TO EARLIER, TO BEGIN DISCUSSION ON A BERLIN-HAMBURG AUTOBAHN IN 1978. QUESTIONS OF MONEY AND MANPOWER MIGHT KEEP THINGS FROM GOINT TOO FAST. HE ALSO NOTED THAT ENERGY QUESTIONS (WITHOUT MENTIONING NUCLEAR OR CONVENTIONAL) COULD BE DISCUSSED, ADDING THIS WAS A VERY COMPLICATED MATTER, INCLUDING FROM A POLITICAL STANDPOINT.

4. NOW NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO BE HANDLED.
SEIDEL CRITICIZED THE FRG FOR TAKING SO LONG TO COME UP WITH ITS NEGOTIATING PROPOSALS AND COMPLAINED THAT THE POINTS TO BE RAISED HAD APPEARED IN THE FRG PRESS LONG BEFORE THE GDR WOULD RECEIVE THEM. SEIDEL SAID THE GDR WOULD NEED TIME TO CONSIDER EACH PROPOSAL

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

AND HE THUS COULD NOT PREDICT WHAT THE REACTION WOULD
BE. HE FEARED THAT PREMATURE WESTERN PRESS SPECULATION
SERVED ONLY TO AWAKEN ILLUSIONS AND EXPECTATIONS IN
THE FRG POPULATION ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR PROGRESS WHICH,
IF NOT FULFILLED, WOULD SAUSE PEOPLE TO BLAME THE GDR
UNFAIRLY.

5. SEIDEL IMPLIED THE GDR EXPECTED THE INITIAL FRG APPROACH
WOULD BE MADE BY WISCHNEWSKI TO KOHL IN BONN AND EXPRESSED
GDR INTEREST IN A LARGER ROLE FOR KOHL IN THE UPCOMING
NEGOTATIONS, BUT INDICATED HE THOUGT GAUS WOULD
BE BEAVILY INVOLED IN THE WHOLE PROCESS. (COMMENT:
ACCORDING TO LAMBACH OF THE FRG PERMREP IN EAST BERLIN,
THE GDR TOOK THE INITIATIVE IN SUGGESTING THAT THE
INITIAL DISCUSSION OF FRG PROPOSALS TAKE PLACE IN BONN.
THE GDR APPEARS INTERESTED IN ENHANCING THE ROLE OF THEIR
BONN PERMREP AND IN REHABILITATING KOHL, WHO SUFFERED
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 BERLIN 06030 01 OF 02 121821Z

FROM ADVERSE FRG PUBLICITY EARLER THIS YEAR FOR HIS
ALLEGED ROLE IN GDR SECURITY IN THE 1950S. LAMBACH
SAID BONN WOULD BE CAREFUL TO RESTRICT THE SECOND
PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS TO THE GAUS-NIER CHANNEL IN
EAST BERLIN DESPITE A SEEMING GDR INTEREST IN MAINTAINING
A ROLE FOR KOHL THROUGHOUT THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE FRG
WOULD COUNTER ANY GDR ATTEMPT TO MAINTAIN TWO SIMUL-
TANEOUS VENUES FOR NEGOTIATIONS. END COMMENT)

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BERLIN 06030 02 OF 02 121839Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 ACDA-07 IO-13 TRSE-00 EB-07 SIL-01 LAB-04
COME-00 DHA-02 ORM-02 EURE-00 /094 W
----------121852Z 068532 /40
P R 121420Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY BERLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4798

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USBERLIN UNN
USMISSION NATO
AMCONSUL BREMEN
AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMCONSUL HAMBURG
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMCONSUL STUTTGART

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BERLIN 6030

6. FRG AND BELGRADE
SEIDEL AGREED THAT THE GDR PRESS HAD BEEN EASIER ON THE FRG IN RECENT WEEKS, BUT ATTRIBUTED THIS TO THE FACT THAT THE FRG HAD DONE LESS TO PROVOKE THE GDR DURING THIS PERIOD. HE ASSERTED MOST ANTI-FRG ARTICLES WERE MERELY REACTIONS TO ANTI-GDR STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS IN THE FRG. SEIDEL SAID THAT THE GDR HOPED FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE ATMOSPHERE IN ITS DEALINGS WITH THE FRG AT BELGRADE. HE FELT THE FRG HAD SENT CONTRADICTORY SIGNALS THUS FAR ON ITS APPROACH TO BELGRADE, BUT NOTED CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BERLIN 06030 02 OF 02 121839Z

THE GDR HAD WELCOMED SHMIDT'S STATEMENT THAT BELGRADE SHOULD NOT BECOME A MEETING OF MUTUAL RECRIMINATION. HOWEVER, HE ASID THE GDR REMAINED CONCERNED ABOUT CDU DEMANDS THAT THE FRG SHOULD PUT THE GDR ON TRIAL AT BELGRADE.

7. GDR-FRG CULTURAL REALTIONS.
WE NOTED THE GDR HAD RECENTLY TAKEN THE INITIATIVE IN DEVELOPING CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH WESTERN COUNTRIES AND SEEMED WILLING IN MANY CASES TO MAKE PROGRESS WITHOUT A FULL CULTURAL AGREEMENT ON THE BASIS OF A MORE INFORMAL CULTURAL PLAN. SEIDEL DENIED THIS POSSIBLITY EXISTED IN GDR-FRG CULTURAL RELATIONS AT THE PRESENT TIME. HE LEFT THE IMPRESSION THAT THE GDR SAW NO PROSPECT FOR MOVING TOWARD A CULTURAL AGREEMENT WITH THE FRG IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

8. SEIDEL ASSERTED THAT CULTURAL RELATIONS WERE DEVELOPING WELL ANYWAY ON A COMMERCIAL, AD HOC BASIS WITHOUT AN AGREEMENT. (COMMENT: ACCORDING TO LAMBACH, THE FRG WILL ONCE AGAIN ATTEMPT TO ENGAGE THE GDR ON

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

A CULTURAL AGREEMENT IN THE NEXT PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS
AND IS UNSURE OF THE PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS. SEIDEL'S
REMARKS MAKE THESE CHANCES APPEAR SLIM INDEED. GDR-FRG
CULTURAL RELATIONS ON THE CURRENT COMMERCIAL BASIS
MENTIONED BY SEIDEL HAVE BEEN ENTIRELY TO THE GDR'S
ADVANTAGE WITH INCREASING NUMBERS OF GDR ARTISTS
AND PERFORMERS EARNING HARD CURRENCY FOR THE GDR
IN THE FRG WHILE FRG PERFORMERS ARE, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS,
FROZEN OUT OF THE GDR CULTURAL SCENE. END COMMENT)

9. FAMILY REUNIFICATION.
SEIDEL BOASTED OF GDR COMPLIANCE AND PROGRESS ON FAMILY
REUNIFICATION, SAYING THE FIGURES SPOKE FOR THEMESLEVES.
ASKED WHY THE GDR WAS TURNING BACK CERTTAIN CATEGORIES OF
GDR VISITORS TO THE GDR, SEIDEL SAID IT WAS THE GDR'S
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BERLIN 06030 02 OF 02 121839Z

RIGHT AS A SOVERIGN STATE TO ADMIT OR TURN BACK WHOMEVER
IT PLEASED. HE IMPLICITLY ADMITTED THAT SOME FORMER
GDR CITIZENS WHO HAD RECENTLY EMIGRATED TO THE FRG WERE
BEING DENIED ENTRY. HE QUOTED FRG MINISTER FRANCKE,
WHO HAD EXPRESSED BEWILERMENT THAT GER CITIZENS WHO
HAD SPENT YEARS GETTING OUT THE GDR SHOULD
WANT TO VISIT THE COUNTRY AGAIN SO SOON AFTER LEAVING.
SEIDEL MAINTAINED THAT THE NUMBER BEING TURNED BACK
WAS MINISCULE IN ANY EVENT COMPARED WITH THE NUMBER OF
FRG AND WEST BERLIN CITIZENS WHO VISITED THE GDR EACH
DAY.

10. GDR-FRG BORDER COMMISSION.
SEIDEL ATTACKED THE FEBRUARY FRG COURT VERDICT HOLDING
THE DISPUTED SECTION OF THE ELBE RIVER CURRENTLY UNDER
DISCUSSION IN THE BORDER COMMISSION AS FULLY WITHIN
FRG TERRITORY. SEIDEL SAID THE GDR HAD MEEN FORCED TO
ISSUE A PUBLIC DECLARATION COUNTERING THE IDEA THAT
AN FRG COURT DECISION COULD SOMEHOW AFFECT THE STATUS
OF AN UNRESOLVED INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY. SEIDEL
REPEATED THE GDR PROPOSAL THAT THE BORDER BE DRAWN
DOWN THE CENTER OF THE DISPUTED ELBE SECTION AND SID
A DRAFT AGREEMENT EXISTED THAT COULD BE SIGNED OVERNIGHT
IF THE FRG WOULD SEE REASON. WHILE HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT
AN AGREEMENT COULD BE SIGNED, SETTING ASIDE FOR FUTURE
DISCUSSION THE DISPUTED ELBE RIVER SECTION, HE DID NOT
THINK THIS WAS VERY LIKELY.

11. SEIDEL NTOED THAT THE FRG SOUGHT FISHING AND PRIVATE
BOAT RIGHTS OF THE ELBE, WHILE THE GDR
SOUGHT ASSURANCES FOR DOMESTIC COMMERCIAL TRAFFIC ON
THE RIVER. ALL OF THESE POINTS WERE PROVIDED FOR IN
THE GR PROPOSAL. THE CURRENT, UNSATISFACTORY STATE OF

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

AFFAIRS FOUND BOTH FRG CUSTOMS BOATS AND GDR BORDER
PATROL BOATS USING BOTH SIDES OF THE RIVER. THE
SITUATION COULD REMAIN UNRESOLVED INDEFINITELY, BUT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 BERLIN 06030 02 OF 02 121839Z

INCIDENTS ON THE ELBE HAD OCCURED IN THE PAST AND COULD
OCCUR AGAIN IN THE FUTURE. SEIDEL WAS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT
THE PROSPECTS FOR PROGRESS ON THIS ISSUE. AT THE SAME
TIME, HE SAID SOME PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE AT THE
LAST MEETING OF THE COMMISSION AND HE NOTED IT WOULD
MEET AGAIN IN JUNE.

12. FRG WORKERS IN THE GDR.
WHILE ADMITTING THAT THE GDR'S CHRONIC WORKER SHORTAGE
HAD LED TO DELAYS IN ROSTOCK AUTOBAHN CONSTUCTION
AS GDR ROAD WORKERS WERE DEIVERTED TO HELMSTEDT, SEIDEL
SAID THE GDR HAD NO INTEREST IN HAVING FRG WORKERS PARTICI-
PATE IN AUTOBAHN CONSTUCTION AGREED TO BY THE GDR AND
FRG. FRG MANCINERY HAD BEEN BROUGHT FOR ROAD CONSTRUCTION
NEAR THE MARIENBORN CHECKPOINT, SEIDEL SAID, AND THIS WAS ENOUGH.

13. COMMENT: OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT THE EAST GERMANS
ARE PREPARED TO ENTER INTO SERIOUS TALKS WITH THE FRG ON
A WHOLE RANGE OF ISSUES BUT THAT PROGRESS, IF IT
COMES, WILL BE SLOW. IT SEEMS FAIRLY CLEAR THE EAST
GERMANS WILL PUSH HARD ON THE "BASIC QUESTIONS"
OF CITIZENSHIP AND BORDERS, BUT WILL NOT MAKE FRG
ACCEPTANCE OF GDR POSITIONS A PRECONDITION FOR PROGRESS
IN SOME PRACTICAL AREAS. WHILE NEITHER SEIDEL NOR
WE RAISED IN ANY WAY THE VARIOUS BERLIN PROJECTS, OUR
FEELING IS THAT, IF THE PRICE IS RIGHT ON BERLIN AS
WELL AS OTHER TRANSPORTATION PROJECTS, THE GR WILL BE
PREPARED TO MOVE FORWARD. AT THE SAME TIME, WE DOUBT
THEY WILL BE VERY FORTHCOMING ON TRAVEL, HUMANITARIAN
ISSUES ALTHOUGH THEY RELAIZE THIS WILL CAUSE BONN
CONSIDERABLE PUBLIC RELATIONS PROBLEMS AT HOME. AND
IF BELGRADE TURNS INTO A BONN-EAST BERLIN VERBAL BATTLE
OVER HUMAN RIGHTS, WE ARE OF THE VIEW THE GDR WILL NOT
BE PREPARED TO MOVE ON PRACTICAL ISSUES. POLANSKY

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 12-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BERLIN06030
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770168-0016
Format: TEL
From: BERLIN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770567/aaaacfmw.tel
Line Count: 320
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: dee8b695-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 BONN 7935, 77 BERLIN A-29
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2554592
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: GDR MFA OFFICIAL ON UPCOMING FRG-GDR NEGOTIATIONS
TAGS: PFOR, GC, GE
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/dee8b695-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009